year 1893, in order to attack Kubub on the following morning. A series of short whistles, which [339] must be answered from those lying across the way or on the sides are usually the agreed-upon signal for a general attack.

The Hottentot also seeks hints from magic in war, when his knowledge fails him and his uncertainty gives him no peace. Under certain conditions an oracle stick, called °go-bo go-bos, gives him peace. It is a piece of wood about as long and thick as a pencil, around which a leather thread is rolled as can be seen in figure a. [Picture. Figures a and b] After the wood has been wrapped thickly in the middle in this way, it is rolled like a whisk on the flat of the hand and the question that needs an answer is asked in time to the rolling. For example: "go-bo go-bo a-maŝ , kxo-egu go ≠no-aŝ?," i.e. "Gobo stick, gobo stick, is it true, have the men shot?" Then the thread is unrolled. If it is still as loose on the stick as before, then the wish that lay in the question has not been fulfilled. It is fulfilled when the thread lies across the wood as figure b shows.

A ring around the moon, °ao≠gã̄/b, (the moon is as though thrown, ao, in, ≠gã̄/, the colored ring) is considered, at least that is what a Hottentot warrior told me, a sign that something decisive has occurred and the cattle of the conquered have been driven away. Sudden ringing in the ears or an insect flying into one's mouth is a sign of misfortune.

The ability to see in a dream future events or ones occurring far away (//ga-barab) has probably driven many a leader to take a decisive step even when he is less talented for oracles than old Hendrik Witbooi.

Capitulum V

Intellectual Activity

A. The Language of the Hottentots

From older writings we know that the language of the Hottentots was split into many dialects. They have vanished [340] except for one, as the tribes themselves have who spoke them. Remnants are gathering dust in manuscripts in the Grey library in Capetown.(77) No attempt has yet

77. W. H. J. Bleek, A Comparative grammar of South African languages. 2 Bände. London, 1862 und 1869.

shown whether the fragments published by Lichtenstein, Burchell and Wuras of the !Kora dialect, whether the parts of an eastern dialect which Sparrmann, Thunberg and Barrow have heard, and whether the notations of Herbert, Ten Rhine and Witzen of the dialect of the Capeland Hottentots of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries could be so arranged that they would at least give us a vague picture of the lost languages. The tribes of Great Namaland now form a linguistically unified group with the fugitives from the south. Their language is that of the old Naman or Namaqua as older authors write using the former ending of the masculine plural.

The language of the Hottentots was the greatest hindrance during the first six months of my journey in getting closer to the spiritual life of the people. In the second and third year it was the most fertile source of my studies. Where war troubles or the unfavorable time of year stopped my zoological studies, I turned to the study of the language. A small work by Theophilus Hahn (78), a concise presentation of the

78. Th. Hahn, Die Sprache der Nama, Leipzig, 1870.

language that contains many errors by A. Seidel (79) and especially

79. A. Seidel, Praktische Grammatiken der Hauptsprachen Deutsch-Südwestafrika's, Wien, Pest, Leipzig, (ohne Jahreszahl).

Kroenleins Wortschatz (57) gave me a first start and later a basis for

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

testing my own results against older ones.

The Hottentot words in the text all stem from the natives. If I have avoided all the information of the whites who know the language, it is not because I underestimated the help that I could have received here, but because I wished to drink exclusively from the source. Therefore I have also avoided natives who could read and write, because they looked at their own language through the glasses of the white man who first gave written signs to these sounds, partly in close connection with the Dutch

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushman were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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whole of the western half of the country. At the present time they are found chiefly in South-West Africa, the north-west districts of the Cape, and parts of Orange Free State. Their former distribution further south and south-east is, however, not only abundantly testified by actual historical record, but is also reflected in the numerous half-breeds who have sprung up all over the Cape as a result of Hottentot intermixture with European settlers and imported slaves. Moreover place-names of Hottentot origin occur widely spread over many districts where the Hottentots themselves are now hardly ever seen. This is the case especially in the eastern parts of the Cape, now largely occupied by Bantu peoples, where many of the rivers, mountains, and other natural features of the country have Hottentot names[1]; while the fact that the South-East (Zulu-Xosa) Bantu languages have incorporated several of the clicks as well as many Hottentot roots indicates that intimate intercourse between the two peoples must have lasted for some time before the Hottentots finally disappeared from these parts.

Tribal Divisions

The Hottentots were originally divided into numerous separate groups, each with its own distinctive name. They all, however, apparently owned to the common name *Khoi-khoin* (men of men, i.e. men *par excellence*, people of pure race), by which they distinguished themselves from other peoples. The origin of the name *Hottentots*, by which they are now universally known and often term themselves, has given rise to much speculation, and there is no single accepted view. It is generally assumed, however, that the word is derived from the term *Hüttentüt* ("stammerer" or "stutterer"), applied to this people by the early Dutch settlers on account of the peculiar "clicks" which gave their speech its distinctive character.[2]

Both in culture and in physical features these different groups of Hottentots present a good deal of homogeneity, save where there has been much recent influence from other peoples. It is difficult

[1] Cf. Kluppen, "A Survey of Aboriginal Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xv (1918), 712–79; Peringuey, "Hottentot Place-names," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xvii (1920), 334–52.

[2] The various interpretations advanced are discussed briefly by J. du Plessis, "Origin and Meaning of the Name 'Hottentot'," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv (1917), 189–93. His own opinion is that the name is derived from the words *Hana hin* (? *Hainé Kuhin*), uttered by the people themselves "in connection with their ceremonial religious dances", and also "employed by them in friendly greetings".

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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therefore to draw any clear-cut lines of distinction among them based on either of these factors. Their languages, on the other hand, although all very closely related, fall into four separate dialectical groups. It is customary therefore to group the people themselves into four main divisions, corresponding to the linguistic groupings. These four divisions are known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana, and the Naman.

The CAPE HOTTENTOTS were the people found by the first European settlers in the vicinity of Table Bay. They probably extended over the greater part of what is now the Western Province of the Cape, and seem to have been fairly numerous.[1] The old Cape Records and the reports of early travellers have preserved for us the names of several of their tribal groups.[2] In and about the Cape Peninsula were the *Goringhaiqua* or *Goringhaikona* and the *Kora* or *Gorachouqua*; further north along the west coast from the neighbourhood of Table Bay to Saldanha Bay roamed the *Kochoqua*, who at the time when the Dutch settlement was founded were the strongest of the local groups; beyond them and extending to the Olifants River were the *Little Grigriqua* or *Chariguriqua*, while north of that river were the *Great Grigriqua*, bordering on the southernmost group of the Naman. To the east of the *Kochoqua*, again, were found the *Chainoqua*; further east and south, in what is now the district of Caledon, roamed the *Hessequa*, to the north-east of whom, probably in the present district of Worcester, lived the *Hancumqua*, and, adjoining them, a few lesser groups. Then came the *Attaqua*, extending from Mossel Bay to near the present village of George, and beyond them, finally, were the *Outeniqua*, whose name still survives in the Outeniqua Mountains.

It is estimated by Theal, on the basis of the early records, that about the time when the Dutch settled at the Cape these different groups together must have numbered from 45,000 to 50,000 persons.

[1] There is a considerable body of literature on this division. The most useful original sources are: N. N. Graevenbroeck, *Elegans et accurata gentis Africanæ circa Promontorium Capitis Bonæ Spei vulgo Hottentotten nuncupatæ descriptio epistolaris*, MS. (1695), published in a Dutch translation by van Oordt under the title "Uit den Ouden Tijd", in *Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Tijdschrift*, 1886; P. Kolb, *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum, das ist vollständige Beschreibung des afrikanischen Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung*, Nürnberg, 1719; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 265–342.

[2] The names of these tribes are unfortunately spelt so inaccurately in the early records that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct version of the name according to the Hottentot pronunciation is no longer obtainable. Almost all the names are written not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person masc. plur. (*-kwa* or *-qua* in the Cape Hottentot dialects). The versions given above are those most generally employed by the early writers.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the one Nama tribe, they have long since become separated into a number of distinct and autonomous groups. The indigenous Naman, or "Great Namaqua", of South-West Africa, were divided within historical times into seven main groups of this kind, with one or two later offshoots, while the "Orlams" coming in from south of the Orange River were similarly divided into five main groups.[1] Each of these groups, */haus*, or "tribes", as they are generally termed, has its own distinctive name, but they all speak the same language, with slight dialectical variations, and they all bear the common name of Nama. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but according to tradition it is the name of a remote ancestor from whom these tribes have all sprung.

The names of the different tribes, in the case of the Great Namaqua, appear to be derived from some characteristic feature associated with the people, and are in many cases exactly translated by the Dutch names by which the tribes are now customarily known. Thus the *//O Gein* or *Groot Doode* are the "great dead"; the *//Haboben*, or *Veldskoendragers*, are called after a kind of sandal worn by the people (Dutch *veldskoen*, Nama *//habob* or *//hawob*); while the *ǂAunin*, or *Topnaars*, are the "people of the point", a reference to the fact that they inhabit the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Naman. The name */Naranin*, by which this last tribe is also sometimes known, is derived from the */naras* melon, so outstanding an article in their diet.

In the case of the Orlams the native names are taken mostly from the name of the supposed first ancestor of the people, e.g. *//Khauan* from the personal name *//Khauab*, which is not now thought of as having any special meaning. There were two branches of these people, the older or the big (*gei*) branch, and the light-coloured branch (*/hei*), hence the tribal names *Gei //Khauan* and */Hei //Khauan*. The Witboois, on the other hand, have a Hottentot nickname, */Howesen*, from */howe* or */hobe*, lazy, which they do not like at all. The Dutch names for these tribes are taken partly from the chief settlements of the people, e.g. Bethanie, Berseba, and partly from their chief leaders, Afrikaner, Amraal, Witbooi.

Traditionally all the Great Namaqua tribes are descended from one line of ancestors, the *Gei //Khauan*, */Gami ǂNun*, *//Haboben*, */Khara Gei Khoin* and *//Khau /Goan* each having been founded by one of five brothers, while the *//O Gein* and *ǂAunin* are later offshoots from the

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 4–7.

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PART IV

CHAPTER XV

The Khoisan Languages

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The Bushmen, as we have previously seen, are divided into a number of separate tribes, each speaking a language or dialect of its own. These languages are all so clearly related that they must be regarded as belonging to the same language family. Owing to certain variations in phonetics, grammatical structure and vocabulary, they have been classified by Miss Bleek into three main groups, to which she applies the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively, in accordance with the relative geographical distribution of the tribes speaking them.[1] The Hottentot languages are on the whole strongly akin to those of the Bushmen, but at the same time differ from them all except Naron, in certain features showing an affinity with the Hamitic languages of North and North-East Africa. They have, therefore, been generally looked upon as essentially Hamitic languages, which have become greatly modified by the incorporation of Bushman elements, especially in phonetics and vocabulary.[2] It has recently been demonstrated, however, that fundamentally, they have far more in common with the Bushman than with the Hamitic languages.[3] They must accordingly be included with the former in the same language family, of which they constitute a fourth distinct group.

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Of the Bushman languages the only one at all well documented is */xam*, the language of the Cape Bushmen, which may be taken

[1] "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof* (1927) 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, 1–6.

[2] This view, already advocated in 1880 by Lepsius, following upon Dr. Bleek's indications, has been expressed most forcibly in recent times by Meinhof, who in his *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, selects Nama as a type language for illustrative purposes; cf. also his paper on "The Language of the Hottentots", in *Addresses delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and S. African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii, 119–29. For criticisms of his standpoint, cf. Drexel, "Gliederung der afrikanischen Sprachen," *Anthropos*, xx (1925), 82 ff., and Planert, "Die Schnalzsprachen," *Bibliotheca Africana*, ii (1926), 298 ff.

[3] D. F. Bleek, *ut cit.*; Schapera, "The Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 855 ff.; *idem*, *Comparative Grammar of the Khoisan Languages*, MS.; cf. also Planert, "Die Sprache der Hottentotten und Buschmänner," *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, viii (1905), Abt. iii, 104–76.

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as representative of the Southern Group.[1] Grammatical sketches are also available of */Khū* (*Kung*) and *//K'au //en* (*Auen*), representing the Northern Group, and of *Hie* (the language of the Hiechware or "Tati Masarwa") and *Naron*, representing the Central Group[2]; but of the other Bushman languages, and this includes the great majority of those spoken in the Kalahari Desert at the present time, only short vacabularies at best have so far been published. Of the four Hottentot languages, again, the only one fully available for comparison is *Nama*, of which we possess several good grammatical studies and dictionaries.[3]

The following sketch in no way claims to provide a complete or even adequate comparative study of the Khoisan languages. It is intended merely to illustrate briefly the principal features characteristic of them, to show how far these features are shared by them all, and what differences exist. A note must be added on the method adopted in the discussion of grammar. This will be dealt with under two heads: (*a*) Grammatical Processes or Technique, i.e. the various mechanisms employed for the expression of meanings, and (*b*) Syntax, i.e. the ways in which the various grammatical categories are expressed. In the former case we consider the different formal processes of the languages and note what their functions are; in the latter we consider the different grammatical functions and categories and note the formal processes employed to express them. The two parts are therefore complementary, and between them should give a serviceable picture of the general grammatical structure.

Phonetics[4]

Except in the case of */Khū* and *Nama*[5] no detailed scientific studies have been made of the phonetic systems of the Khoisan languages.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1911 (texts); D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Grammar," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xix (1928–9), 81–98; Meriggi, "Versuch einer Grammatik des /xam-Buschmännischen," ibid., 117–53, 188–205.

[2] Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kū-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37 ff., esp. 56–112; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 1928 (Grammatical Sketches: Naron, 51–60; Auen, 60–4); cf. also Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891 (Naron grammar and vocabulary, 540–52).

[3] The most useful sources are: Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909 (grammar and texts; bibliography); Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 1907 (texts 387–545); Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. ii, 1923 (texts in the Bergdama dialect, 62–131); Kroenlein, *Wörterbuch der Khoi-Khoin*, 1889 (best dictionary).

[4] The orthography employed in the following pages and throughout the book is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in its Memorandum I: *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, except in the case of the "clicks", for which the long-established conventional symbols are used.

[5] Doke, "The Phonetics of the Language of the ǂhū Bushmen," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 129–65; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1–44.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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B H 193 buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

B H 192 The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in */Khũ* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
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occupies approximately two fifths of this area. In the past the northern limit of the Nama was indefinite until the pressure from the north by the Herero became serious, and certainly since the early part of the last century the Nama have been chiefly concentrated in the area of Great Namaqualand. This country is a high level plateau, or tableland, with an average altitude of 3,500 feet above sea level. Along the coast there is a strip of absolute sandy waste, of varying width but averaging about 35 miles across. The country rises rapidly from the coast inland, and the central tableland is cut off from the desert strip, or Namib, by a plateau range of sandstone formation running from north to south with an average height of 4,500 ft. The northern boundary is formed by the Awas mountains, a rugged mass of primary formation rising to a height of 7,200 feet above sea level and forming the watershed of the country. The rainfall over the whole area is extremely small, averaging from 4 inches in the south to 12 inches in the north. The country is, then, on the whole a barren plain with sparse vegetation and little permanent water. Yet after a season of sufficient rains it becomes a waving sea of grass, admirably suited both to cattle and sheep.

Such is the home of the nomadic pastoral Nama who originally owned great herds of large-boned, long-horned cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. Before the coming of the missionaries these people wandered about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their stock. Large permanent fountains, or pools in river beds were claimed as their property by the different groups, rather than areas enclosed by definite territorial boundaries.

There are at present in the Protectorate, besides remnants of the various groups of the Great Namaqua with which this paper is mainly concerned, remnants of other groups who came in from the south of the river in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the general movement of the Hottentot peoples was away from the white settlements. These incoming groups spoke practically the same language as the Nama groups; indeed, the language throughout the area is very similar, so that one can hardly even speak of dialects, though undoubtedly there is a slight difference of vocabulary in the widely separated groups and, in some cases, a slightly different intonation.

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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571 such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made
535 of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

147 12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch
[164] severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this
[145] reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are
758 dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin
764 wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave 1½ metres deep
177 in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

● 197 1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows:—

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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" De taal der Hottentotten is voor de Europeanen verdrietig te horen, onmogelijk te leren, en aan de Hollanders tot verder voortzetting van den Handel en uitvinding der landen zeer hinderlijk: want zij klappen met ieder woord, dat zij spreken, even als wanneer men met de vingers een knipslag maakte, zodat haar mond als een klap of zweep gaat, omdat zij met die tong overluid slaan, en ieder woord bijna een slag is." 197

Holsteiner, in his book of travels, says:

" Uit hare taal kan men nauwelijks horen dat zij menschelijk is: zij is schier als het geraas van de Calicutsche hanen."

Merklin, in his book of travels, adds:

" Zij klokken met hunne taal bijna als de Indiaansche hoenders."

Peter Kolbe, whose book was published in 1719, took a great deal of trouble to arrive at the secret of the Hottentot language. He made a contract with a Hottentot, promising him in writing that he would give him ten rix-dollars if he taught him the language; but, after the first lesson, both master and pupil were quite tired out. In connection with this he wrote:

" Ook verdroot het mij, wegens mijne kromme tong, liet hem gaan, na dat ik zijne moeite betaalt hadde. Wat mij aangaat, ik ben 't eenemal van die gedachten, ja daar waar selfs een halve eeu verlopen, eer men een gedruksblad daar van zag, wilde men ook alle zijne moeite en arbeid alleen daar aan te koste leggen. . . . Genoemen, dat een vreemdeling deze taal in eenige jaren kan lezen. . . zo ontmoet te eerste deze zwarigheid zich weder, dat hij ze niet kan overzetten en vertalen. De oorzaak is, om dat zijn meester zelf met een kromme tong in die duitsche taal spreekt. Hij kan niet zeggen, dat hij op deze of gene wijze de tong moet dragen om deze of genen slag te doen. Indien hij hem zulks ook aanwijst, so heeft hij tog maar om so te spreken, eene trap overwonnen, welke ten eersten weder van anderen gefolgt word, namelijk wanneer hij gade slaat, hoe dat hij alle slagen met die tong en met den mond, op 't nauwste bij zich zelven zal onderscheiden, om in 't vervolg bij aanroering der karakters of letters, die wederom een lange tijd, en een verder nadenken vereisschen, dezelve zijn onderscheiden, en aan den leergierigen aanwijzen zal. Die nu alle deze Zwarigheden nevens nog vele anderen, die onderweegs en midden in 't werk ontmoeten sullen, overkomt, en geen ander hulpmiddel heeft, gelijk en geen andere zijn, dan die hij van de Hottentotten hebben kan, die zal zeker niet meer zeggen, dat de taal van de Hottentotten licht is, maar hij zal zonder twijfel

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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NAMA

197 een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the language have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

194 The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar 193 syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

194 3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

197 4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention. 197

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development of all the tribes in South Africa. 197 153

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal. 177 538 153

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari "; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables. 538

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising. [875]

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har- 533 517

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

342 are so big that ten or twenty men, with women and children, can live in them comfortably. But on the average they are much smaller, and some are so small that they
354 can simply be picked up and carried away. The fire-hearth is in the middle of the hut, but as they make no chimneys to draw up the smoke their dwellings are always full of
372 it. They make fire with remarkable dexterity, by placing under the foot a bit of wood in which there is a small hollow, and then firmly and continuously twisting another piece of wood into this hollow until the sparks come out.

LANGUAGE.

197 All these Hottentots, especially those along the shore, speak one and the same language. This is at once a hindrance, for owing to the difficulty of pronunciation it cannot be learned by our countrymen, to the great detriment of further exploration of the country and of dealing with these
194 people. Their speech is full of clucks like those of the turkey-cocks; they clap or clack each word in the mouth, as if a man were snapping his thumb, so that their mouth goes almost like a rattle, continuously clapping aloud with the tongue, each word with a different clap. Some words they can only utter with considerable difficulty, seeming to fetch them up from the back of the throat, like a turkey-cock, or like the people on the German Alps do, who through drinking ice-water get swellings at the neck.
101 Because of this our countrymen, observing this impediment and extraordinary stuttering in speech, have given them the name of Hottentots, in the same sense as that word is commonly used here at home as a taunt against anybody who stutters and stammers in uttering his words.[81]) They
192 now also call themselves by the name Hottentot, and in the presence of our countrymen dance and sing: *Hottentot brokwa, Hottentot brokwa*, by which they mean to say,

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[81]) Dapper's theory about the origin of the name "Hottentot" has been adopted by most later writers. It is discussed in detail by Prof. du Plessis (*S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xiv, 189-93; xxix, 660-67), who comes to the conclusion, after a careful review of the relevant literature, that this name was *not* bestowed upon the Cape natives by early travellers, as suggested by Dapper, but rather was derived from their use of some such word as *hautitou* (whence *Hottentoo*) in their dancing songs, and so found its way into Dutch and other European languages. The problem is still a matter of controversy, but the authorities quoted by du Plessis seem to bear out his contention. It may be added that the Hottentots, although they now acknowledge this name as well, originally called themselves *kroikroin* ("*Khoi-Khoin*"), or "real people", a name which they still retain for themselves in their own language.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

More than forty ships belonging to our Company, or of various nations, call here every year. The crews of these ships spend every year a thousand silver dollars more or less, for in looking after their health and restoring their strength and purchasing supplies they pay with lavish and extravagant hand for bread, meat, wine, beer, vegetables and other supplies and various articles of merchandise; then they set sail despoiled of their cash, leaving no regrets behind them in the colony but only the fear that they will not promptly return with as much more money to spend as the colonists could wish(?).

I am of opinion that the language of the natives has something in common with Hebrew, for it seems to consist of gutturals, labials, dentals, linguals and other sounds that fall with difficulty from the lips and are hard for us to pronounce. It is also probable that their language consists of various dialects and is not everywhere the same; for I have heard some who penetrated into the interior relate that they encountered races differing in speech, with whom they could have absolutely no converse except through interpreters; while to others some of their words were intelligible, and for the rest they spoke by nods and signs.

I have compiled a list for travellers of some essential words with their meanings, from the language of natives living some distance from this place.[93]) It may be of some use to our explorers who wander into those parts or deliberately make their way thither. The idiom, so far as I can see, is a well-developed and rich one. E.g. *Caye mansine* means a *ship*. It is a compound word from *Caye*, house, and *mansine*, with the middle syllable long, which means *water*[93]), i.e. *water-house*, not an unintelligent turn of speech for *ship*. Similar derivations and etymologies may be observed in other words.

Here it seems appropriate to add as an illustration the numbers from one to ten as in use both among the Magosi and here among our Africans. The difference between the two will be obvious, and we may, if you please, leave to some future Bochard[94]), skilled in strange tongues, the task of tracing out their origin:

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[93]) In modern Xhosa, *i-Kaya* = home, domicile, and *amanzi* = water; *mansine* is probably meant to be the locative form *emanzini*.

[94]) Samuel Bochart (1599-1667) was (according to a note by van Oordt in his Dutch trans. of G.) a noted Orientalist whose work on the animals of the Bible had a deep influence on Oriental linguistics. (Molsbergen, iv, 297.)

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

stories from the missionary Kallenberg and the still vaguer evidence of Hendrik de Katse (presumably a Korana of the Cat tribe), without any attempt to examine critically this or other available evidence.[9]

It is certainly possible that the *Chora* of *Chora-choqua* may phonetically represent *!kora*, as the early Dutch transcribers had no symbols for clicks. The *-na* in *Kora-na* is merely the common plural ending in Hottentot and the *-choqua* may be explained as *khwekwa*, the plural of *khweb*, thus *Chorachoqua* meaning the " men of *!kora*,"—an explanation strengthened by old Herry's division of the word in his list of tribes given to van Riebeeck, in which the name appears as *Gora choqua* or *Gora chauna*.[10]

Two further arguments which could not have been adduced by Stow may be referred to here. The one is a piece of evidence derived from Wikar, who mentions three Korana tribes,—the *Kuringais* (or " Hoogekraal "), and the *Husingais*, forming the " small " Korana group and the *Kei* or Great *Korana*, as distinct from the rest of the Orange River Hottentots or *Eyniqua*. Now these *Kuringais* (Korana : *!kuriŋ ǁais*, the " Hoogstander " to give them their latter-day Afrikaans name, the " proud people ") might well be equated with the *Goriñhaiqua* (=*!Kuriŋ ǁaikwa*) or Capeman of the Dagverhaal, who have just been referred to and who are always mentioned as in close alliance with the *Gorachoqua*, and in fact the two tribes are repeatedly bracketed together as Caepman and tobacco thieves in the later Journals of the Governors.[11] It would seem that the existence of these two tribes on the Orange River in 1778 and 1779 continues a state of things which had obtained in the early Dutch days.

The other argument is that of the similarity of the Korana and the Cape dialects of Hottentot in possessing together certain phonetic peculiarities and common words, the details of which will be discussed in the linguistic section of the present study, and which definitely constitute these two as a homogeneous linguistic group as against the Nama dialect. These facts enable us to conclude that the Cape and the Korana sections broke up at a period subsequent to the separation of the Nama tribes from the main body of the Hottentot nation.

In the light of this identification, we may now turn once again to the Native traditions, in order to examine their full implications.

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[9] For an examination of Stow's argument, see *ibid*, p. 502-503.

[10] Dagverhaal, II. p. 279. Nov. 15, 1657.

[11] Moodie I. *passim*

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Korana description did not differ from the game as played by the Naman. It may be useful to point out here that the game gets its name from *//hu:*, " To make a hole " and *//hu:s* is thus properly " a hole."

(ii) The *gunukunus*, " hide-and-seek." It is played by two or more players, one of them hiding some small object in one of his hands behind his back and then producing both his hands closed, he exclaims : " *ham !humiŋ !na ha?* " " In which hand is it ? " If the opponent guesses correctly, he says : *!kaugu*. " You win."

This game is of interest because it is the famous " Hottentot card-playing," to call it by the name under which it was familiar to the Dutch colonists. It has been lengthily described by Sparrman, among others, in his *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, (I, p. 231-233). He, however, missed the essentials of its significance.

VI. LANGUAGE.

This short survey concerns only the language of the *//aremŋ //ais* of Bloemhof and it is limited to its most important aspects. It does not appear necessary to go in a detailed manner into the features which our particular dialect may have in common with the rest of the Korana language and which have been adequately dealt with in the following works :

(i) Engelbrecht—J. A. *Studies oor Korannataal*, Kaapstad, 1928. It contains a grammatical sketch and a very copious vocabulary.

(ii) Meinhof—C. *Der Koranadialekt des Hottentottischen*, Berlin, 1930. A very thorough exposition of the grammar and the vocabulary.

(iii) Maingard—L. F. *A revised ms. version of the Korana Catechism of C. F. Wuras*, Bantu Studies, v, 112-165. Contains a detailed grammatical analysis of the text and a comparative vocabulary.

PHONOLOGY

Note : The texts already given preserve the individual peculiarities of each speaker.

(a) *Vowels.* Their pronunciation is not always very clear. Engelbrecht has already noted the indistinctness between the pairs *i* and

11 Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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THE PLACE OF KORANA AMONG THE HOTTENTOT DIALECTS

Korana has been often compared with Nama in recent years. A comparison with the Old Cape dialects is no less important, if we are to determine accurately the relationship of Korana to the other members of the Hottentot linguistic family. Cape Hottentot is however an extinct language. But we fortunately have word lists of this old dialect, dating back to the end of the 16th century, to which we have already referred and which probably all came from the same source, as I hope to prove some day. We shall take for our present purpose the lists published in Godée-Molesbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, p. 215-224). They provide an excellent basis for comparison with Korana, in view of the fact that the two peoples who spoke the dialects are fundamentally identical.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF KORANA, CAPE AND NAMA DIALECTS

	Korana.	*Cape.*	*Nama.*	*English.*
A.				
1.	*kx'a*	*kx'a, koa*	*a*	"to drink"
2.	*kx'am*	*kamqua, quamqua*	*am*	"mouth."
3.	*kx'anis*	*k'anniqua*	*ani*	"bird."
4.	*kx'ôib*	*qu'oin*	*ôib*	"liver."
5.	*kx'oni*	*k'omma*	*oni*	"house."
6.	*kx'oônibe*	*kqôoniaba*	*ûitaba*	"alive."
7.	*thui //goab*	*thiéua*	*tsui //goab*	"God."
B.				
1.	*hi /ib*	*hiqui, hiquaeb*	*tanas*	"head."
2.	*tamma*	*tamma*	*nami*	"tongue."
3.	*xoaseb*	*k'goatsow, choassow*	*/garub*	"tiger."
4.	*/hâkab*	*thoaqua*	*=khirab*	"wolf."
5.	*hâb*	*hab*	*deib*	"milk."

The evidence in this table is conclusive. Not only have we here in Group A 1-6, a series of words beginning with the ejective velar affricate *kx'* in Korana and the Cape dialect (the *-b* and the *-qua—kua* are merely endings, which can be neglected for our present purpose), whilst Nama has consistently dropped that sound combination. In A. 7 the *th* again belongs to Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama.

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Korana

We have still more decisive evidence in the words in group B. The names of the parts of the body belong to the fundamental stratum of the vocabulary and here we have the words for "head" and "tongue" shared by Korana and Cape Hottentot as against Nama *tanas* and *nami*. Names of common animals vary a great deal from one part of the country to another and yet the two geographically widely separated dialects—Korana and Cape—agree in their names for "wolf" and "tiger." That very common Hottentot article of food, "milk" is the same in Korana and Cape (*hâ*) as against Nama *dip*.

In 1919, Rev. C. Wandres tried, in a learned study ("Alte Wortlisten der Hottentotsprache, *Zeit. f. Kolonialsprachen*, ix, 26-42), to explain those identical words of these lists and his success was conspicuous, for he knew Nama well. But when he handled the words given above, he had to confess his failure, because his basis was Nama and not Korana. For instance, he said of *hipunan* "dieses wort ist nicht mehr bekannt"; of *qu'tin*: "*qu'* ist mir unerklärlich"; of *kamqua*: "das *k*... am Anfang des Wortes verstehe ich nicht," etc. I quote the difficulties of Rev. Wandres as a practical test to show how different Nama is in those few words at any rate, from Korana and how Cape Hottentot is made clear by referring to Korana.

We are now compelled to the conclusion that (i) Korana and Cape Hottentot form a dialectal group, whilst Nama stands apart; (ii) that Nama must have separated from the common Hottentot language before the Korana and Cape tribes went apart.

VII. GENEALOGICAL LISTS

GENERAL

The sex of the members of these genealogical lists is, with a very few exceptions, sufficiently indicated by the Hottentot endings of the names:

-b (*-p*), for the males, and *-s* for the females.

It is to be noted that:

(i) in very many cases they have a Korana as well as a Dutch name.

(ii) the names of the children of *Jhatti* and *Oreas* have mostly European Christian names.

(iii) x in these lists represents a member unknown by name.

While the Bushmen are hunters, the Khoikhoi are nomads, cattle and sheep farmers; and while the Bushman family has with the Khoikhoi, linguistically speaking, only the clicks and some harsh sounding faucals and a few roots of words in common, the various Bushman languages hitherto recorded, differ among themselves, as much as they differ from the Khoikhoi idioms. This difference and variety in speech is mainly due to their wandering habits and unsettled life. The wild inaccessible mountain strongholds and the arid deserts of South Africa, where nobody can follow them, are their abode; constantly on the alert, constantly on the move, constantly on the path of war, either with other tribes, or with the wild animals, no inducement is given to them for a settled life, the necessary condition of the development of a more articulate speech and a higher intellectual culture. 197

The Khoikhoi, or Nomadic Hottentots, have all the same language, which branches off in as many idioms and dialects as there are tribes. The idiomatic peculiarities, however, are not very prominent, indeed not so striking, as to hinder a Geiǁkhau or ǂAuni or ǁHabobe of Great Namaqualand, and the ǂNūbe of Ovamból and, or the Geiǂnam of the North Western Kalihari, conversing easily with the inhabitants of the Khamies Bergen (North Western Colony), and with the ǁKoras and Griquas of Griqualand West and the Orange Free State.

A prominent feature in all the *Khoikhoi* idioms is the strict monosyllabism of the root, ending in a vowel, and the use of pronominal elements as suffixes for the purpose of forming derivatives. The Khoikhoi language is entirely void of prefixes, nay, our prepositions are postpositions. The pronominal elements have in the course of time crystallized, and sometimes melted together into one, and in this new shape accepted the office of classifiers and registrars of substantives or substantified expressions, so that some of our most eminent philologists did not hesitate to consider them homogeneous with the article of 193

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

193 other sex-denoting languages, chiefly of the Semitic and Hamitic class. But I am convinced that a more careful investigation will lead to the result, that the Khoikhoi language is not sex-denoting in the sense of Aryan or Semitic grammar. The so-called "*article*" is not an article in the sense of grammar, because the root of the Khoikhoi article is not the same throughout the genders, nor throughout the numbers. The following Table will at once explain what I mean:

		Masc.	*Fem.*	*Com.*
Sing.	Subjective	b (bi), m (mi)	s (si)	i
	Objective	ba, ma	sa	(ia) e
Dual.	Subj. and obj.	khā	ra	ra
Plur.	Subjective	gu	ti	n
	Objective	ga (gua)	te (tia)	na

In saying this I do not for a single moment deny that the so-called article was *en route* to develop into the meaning and sense of the Aryan article, when by the destructive contact with other races—the Bantu from the North, and the European from the South—this development was suddenly checked.

We may therefore safely, until a more appropriate term for this way of classifying is established, call those particles which serve as classifiers of the three classes of the substantives, *Articles*.

197 The Bushman languages, as far as I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with them, have no such derivative and formative elements; at least, if they had, such have now entirely disappeared, or are distorted to such a degree, that they defy every analysis. Sometimes one is tempted to believe that there are embryonic indications of such elements; sometimes again one is strongly inclined to take such would-be-suffixes, for dilapidated remnants of pronominal elements. The present Bushman languages bear nearly the same relationship to the Khoikhoi as, among the Indo-European languages, English holds to

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Sanskrit. As to the dictionary of Khoikhoi and Bushman, there remains no more doubt as to their primitive relationship. The following list will convince the greatest sceptic:—

	Khoikhoi.	*ǂKham-Bushman.*
Tooth	ǁgūb	ǁgēi-ǁgeī
Intestines	ǂguin	ǂkhoin-ǂkhoin
Male, man	ʏau (ǂKora) au (Nama)	ʏau
Master	gao-ʏau-b (ǂKora)	gao-ʏau
Rope	ǂhaūb	ǂhaū
Elephant	ǂǂkχoab	ǂǂkχoa
Egg	ǂubu-s	ǂubu and ǂuiten
Fish	ǁoub	ǁou
White	ǂuri	ǂuiten and ǂū
Star	ǂgomrob (ǂKora) ǂgamirob (Nama)	ǂkoaten
Plain	ǂoub	ǂougen
Strong	ǂgeiχa	ǂgeiya
Weak	ǂǂkχabu	ǂǂkχoba
Rich	ǂkχū	ǂkχou
Buchu	sāb	tsā
Beads	ǂurin (ǂʏuri)	ǂʏuri
Other	ǂkhara	ǂkχara
Selfsame	ǁeī	ǁeī
To walk	dā	taī
Clay	ǂǂgoa-b	ǂǂgoai
Sea	huri-b	huri
Interrog.	tari	tari

Or if we like to glance at the ǂAi-Bushman on the North-west Kalihari, we shall come to the same conclusion.

	Khoikhoi.	*ǂAi-Bushman.*
Man	khoi-b	khoe
Male	ʏaore khoi-m (ǂKora)	ʏau-khoe
Child	ǁgōa-ī	ǁgoa
Father	ǁgū-khoīb	ǁgū-khoe

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

● 197

	Khoikhoi.	*ǀAi-Bushman.*
Cattle	go-ma-ĭ	goe
Calf	tsaũ-b	tsaũ
Sheep	gu-ĭ	gu
Goat	biri-ĭ	biri
Lion	χa-mí	χam
Dog	ari-b	arigu
Hare	ǀoa-ĭ	ǀoa
Hartebēst	ǁkhama-ĭ	ǁkhama
Nose	ǂgui-s	ǂgui
Mouth	ɣam-s (ǀKora)	ɣam
Tooth	ǁgũ-b	ǁgũ
Ear	ǂgeis	ǂgẽ
Arm	ǁoã-b	ǁõã
Neck	ǀɣaub (ǀKora)	ǀɣaũ
Leg	tẽ-b	tẽ
Tree	hei-ĭ	hĭĭ
Beard	ǀnum-s	ǀnom
Hard	ǀgari	ǀgadi
Black	ǂnũ	ǂnũ
White	ǀuri	ǀũ
To run	ǀgũ	ǀgũ
To drink	ɣá (ǀKora) / ã (Nama)	ɣã
To eat	ǂũ	ǂũ
To die	ǁõ	ǁõ
To give	mã	mãme
To catch	ǀkhõ	ǀkhõ
Cap	ǀgabá-s	ǀgabá
Pot	sũ-s	sũ
Jackal	ǀgiri-b	ǀgirì
Bull	ǁgo-b	ǁgõ
Fish	ǁou-b	ǁou
Snake	ǀɣau-b (ǀKora)	ǀɣau
Rain	tã-s	tũ
Road	ɗao-b	ɗao
Fat	ǁnui-b	ǁnui

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

	Khoikhoi.	*ǂAi-Bushman.*
Milk	bi-s	bi
Honey	dani-s (dini-s)	dini
Fly	ǂgina-s	ǂgini
Light	subu	subu
To laugh	ɣaɪ (ǂKora)	ɣaɪ
To see	mũ	mũ
To kiss	ǁoa	ǁobe

It is of vital importance that the roots, especially in the first syllables and clicks (Anlaut), should agree; and this is here the case.

A prominent feature in all Khoikhoi dialects is a strict monosyllabic tendency, and all roots end with a vowel, and chiefly with *a, i, u; e* and *o* are contractions of the three primitive vowels. As regards the roots in the Bushman languages, they appear more or less polysyllabic, although a great number is monosyllabic. They end generally in a vowel, very often also in a very strong nasal ~, which I believe is an old crippled suffix, originally having a vowel at the end. For instance, ǂgũ, to go, is by some pronounced ǂgun (ǂgung); this n, as can be proved, is contracted from nĭge or nĭ-ge-ni. These vowels, however, have gradually worn off. Those roots which appear to be polysyllabic, very likely after a more careful study will prove to be compounds of radical elements.

While the Khoikhoi dialects all agree in having the same suffixes for the forming of three distinct numbers, (sing., dual, plur.) the Bushman languages show great irregularities and departures from the rule in this respect. In the ǂKham language (Northern Colonial Border about Kenhardt and Zakrevier)—*mirabile dictu*—the words *man* ǂkui *goai*, and *woman* ǂkui ǂaitĭ, differ even in the root entirely from the plural *men*, ǂēga *túgẹn*, and *women* ǂēga ǂgāgẹn. They can therefore not be styled plurals in the general sense of the word.

Then again the plural will be formed simply by reduplication; but it also must be said that some indi-

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Th. Hahn. Oudtshoorn, E. Prov. 1871.	*Th. Hahn. Bergdamara, North Namaqualand.* 1875.
I. ǀKui	ǀkui
II. ǀKam	ǀkam
III. ǃNona	ǃnona
IV. Haka	haga
V. Koro	gore
VI. ǃNani	ǃnani
VII. Hũgu	hũ
VIII. ǁKhaisi	ǁkhaisa
IX. Khoisi	khoise
X. Disi	disi

A ǂNuwi-Namaqua from the Kaokoveldt counted in the same way as the Great Namaquas.

This much we know of the time when the numerals were formed, that it must have followed the period when the Khoikhoi family had left the isolating stage, and their language availed itself of the aid of pronominal elements in order to form derivatives ǀGui, ǀga-m, ǃno-na, ha-ga, go-re, ǃna-ni, hũ-gu or hu-ni-gu, ǁkhai-si, khoi-si, di-si, all have the derivative-pronominal-suffixes, i, m, na, ni, gu, ga, re, si. We also know that the Khoikhoi could not have invented the numerals before their domestic and social condition made counting and taxing necessary. As long as they were hunters, there was nothing worth counting, but when they had taken to breeding cattle and sheep, they had to count (ǃgõa) their flocks, and the richest man was the most honoured man. Hence it is that *ǃgõa, to count,* is also used in the meaning, *to honour, to respect,* and *ǃgõab* means not only *the number,* but also *the honour, the respect, the regard.* "ǀGõahe tamata hã," will a Khoikhoi indignantly say, "I am not counted," that is, "I am not looked at," if he thinks that he is unfairly treated.

The meanings of some of these numerals are very clear. *ǀGui, one,* is the *single,* the *lonely* one. For

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

000 still at the time when Bartolomeo Diaz discovered the Cape, and when Governor Jan van Riebeeke hoisted the banner of the Netherlands at the foot of Table Mountain, below the old Khoikhoi kraal ǂǁHu-ǂgais. And such we find it still to be amongst the tribes of Great Namaqualand, and the remnants of the ǃKora and the so-called Cape Hottentots.

114 197 The orthography of the few specimens of the old Khoikhoi language of the Cape Colony, given by Witsen, Kolb, Valentyn, Ludolf, Leibniz, Thunberg, Spaarman, Le Vaillant, Barrow, Liechtenstein, Burchell, &c., is very much distorted, when compared with that of the excellent publications of Schmelen, Knudsen, Vollmer, and Tindall. Nevertheless, the language of the Khoikhoi tribes, such as the Kochoquas, Charigurunas, Hessaquas, Outeniquas, Attaquas, now swept from the face of the earth, and the present living idioms of the Namaquas, ǃGonaquas, ǁKhauas, ǃAmas, and ǃKoras, and few remnants of the Chrichriquas, the present Griquas, show the same structure, the same sex-denoting tendency, the same agglutinative peculiarity, the same decimal system of counting, and an equal abundance of abstract ideas and expressions well fitted to interpret the most sublime and sacred feelings of the human heart.

000 An unmerciful fate has overtaken the Khoikhoi; the most powerful tribes have been annihilated, and with them their traditions, sacred as well as profane. Those still extant have lost so much of their national peculiarities by contact with civilization, and have adopted such a number of Indo-European beliefs and customs; and the Christian ideas introduced by missionaries have amalgamated to such a degree with the national religious ideas and mythologies, that for this reason I have in the following pages preferred to give less than I could give, lest I should be accused that from a certain natural interest in, and sympathy with, the Khoikhoi, I had been carried away to assign to them a higher station in the